

Exchange Mail

DATE-TIME 12/4/98 7:34:30 PM
FROM Sanders, Robin R.
CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED
SUBJECT FW: for tom lippman [UNCLASSIFIED]
TO Barks-Ruggles, Erica
Battenfield, Pat A.
Prendergast, John P.
Sanders, Robin R.
Smith, Gayle E.

CARBON_COPY**TEXT_BODY**

I would add another category besides what we have in the chart because
I think what Lippman will be interested in his not just the deliverables
of the trip. Therefore I would also mention:

Key visits to the
US since the trip:
Mandela, Abubukar, and working visit of Chissano

Additional
Outreach activities on Africa:
--Visually addressed the National
Summit on Africa , one of the key NGOs building a constituency for
Africa in the US
-- Received the Partners for Livable Community
award for efforts to change American perceptions about Africa (Slater
received award on his behalf)
-- Flagged the important of Africa
at the Congressional Black Caucus Annual Awards Dinner

-----Original
Message-----
From: Barks-Ruggles, Erica
Sent: Friday, December
04, 1998 7:25 PM
To: Smith, Gayle E.; Sanders, Robin R.
Cc: @AFRICA
- African Affairs; @PRESS - Public Affairs
Subject: RE: for tom

lippman [UNCLASSIFIED]

OK - here is the draft - I cut the sensitive S.Africa stuff from the chart and cleaned up the list of missions. Two highlights on the mission chart I am unsure of.

-----Original
Message-----

From: Smith, Gayle E.

Sent: Friday, December 04,
1998 5:46 PM

To: Barks-Ruggles, Erica; Sanders, Robin R.

Cc: @AFRICA

- African Affairs; @PRESS - Public Affairs

Subject: for tom lippman
[UNCLASSIFIED]

EBR -- as I told you, Tom Lippman of the Post is doing a story on the POTUS went to Africa in march and then what. Can we do a short sanitized version of the quarterly report which we could share with him?

Also, do we have the updated list of cabinet-level travel to Africa? That says something.

Robin, do
you have anything to add?

Thanks, we need to get it to him on Monday sometime, he interviews SER Tuesday and then will aim to print.

GS

TRANSLATED_ATTACHMENT

Cabinet travel public list.doc
Cabinet Level Travel

1996

OCTOBER

Secretary of State Christopher - Mali, Ethiopia, Tanzania (Arusha - met with

Moi, Mkapa, Museveni), South Africa, Angola

1997

FEBRUARY

* Vice President Gore - South Africa, Namibia - accompanied by Secretaries

Babbitt, Glickman, Daley, Herman, Shalala, Cuomo, and Pena, and

AID Administrator
Atwood on South Africa leg

MARCH

* The First Lady - Senegal, South Africa, Zimbabwe, Tanzania, Uganda, Eritrea

JUNE

* USUN Ambassador Richardson - DROC

AUGUST

* Secretary of Transportation Slater and Rev. Jesse Jackson led Presidential Mission to African-African American Summit - Zimbabwe

OCTOBER

* UN Ambassador Richardson - DROC

NOVEMBER

* Rev. Jesse Jackson as Special Envoy to the President and the Secretary of State for the Promotion of Democracy in Africa - Kenya, Zambia

DECEMBER

* Secretary of State Albright - Ethiopia, Uganda, Rwanda, DROC, Angola, Zimbabwe, South Africa

* Congressman Rangel led a Presidential Mission - Cote d'Ivoire, Ethiopia, Uganda, Zimbabwe, South Africa, Mauritius

1998

FEBRUARY

* Rev. Jesse Jackson (as Special Envoy) - Kenya, DROC, Liberia

MARCH

* The President - Ghana, Uganda, Rwanda, South Africa, Botswana, Senegal

APRIL

* EXIM Bank President Harmon - Namibia, South Africa, Zimbabwe
* Rev. Jesse Jackson (as Special Envoy) - Ethiopia

MAY

* Commerce Deputy Secretary Mallet - Namibia, South Africa, Cote d'Ivoire

JULY

* Secretary of Transportation Slater - Cape Verde, Senegal, Ethiopia, Zimbabwe,

Angola, Cameroon

* Secretary of Treasury Rubin - Cote d'Ivoire, South Africa, Mozambique, Kenya, Ethiopia

* Rev. Jesse Jackson (as Special Envoy) - Liberia

* Undersecretary of State Pickering - Nigeria

AUGUST

* Secretary of State Albright - Kenya, Tanzania

* FBI Director Freeh - Kenya, Tanzania

SEPTEMBER

* Secretary of Commerce Daley - Cote d'Ivoire, South Africa, Kenya and Tanzania

* President meets Head of State Abubakar in Washington

* President meets President Mandela in Washington

OCTOBER

* DCINCEUR Abbot - Nigeria, others???

NOVEMBER

* Rev. Jesse Jackson (as Special Envoy) - Nigeria, Guinea, Sierra Leone, Ghana

DECEMBER

* Secretary of Commerce Daley - South Africa, Kenya, Cote d'Ivoire, Nigeria

2

TRANSLATED_ATTACHMENT lippman trip progress chart.doc
INITIAIVE

Ghana Energy Crisis

\$120m Education Initiative

\$61m Food Security Initiative

\$1m NIH malaria research.

Entebbe Summit Follow-Up

N. Uganda Rehab. Initiative \$2m

\$30m Great Lakes Justice Initiative

Establish Ron Brown Institute.

\$35m bilateral concessional debt relief

Technical assistance in support of the Partnership for Economic Growth and Opportunity in Africa.

U.S.-Africa Economic Cooperation Forum

ACCOMPLISHED

Bilateral Commission met with Ghana VP Mills and six ministers and five Cabinet officials from USG. Interagency assessment team visited Ghana, gave recommendations to GOG. DOT MARAD loan of \$67 million for power barges approved. DOD teams repaired and trained technicians to repair emergency generators.

Pilot programs begun with first tranche of funds, will expand to first seven countries by end of fiscal year.

\$30 m FY98 funds disbursed to five countries, \$31 million FY99 to be disbursed.

Funds disbursed to West Africa Malaria Center.

International Coalition Against Genocide consultations will begin in Washington on Dec. 14. A \$2m Survivor Fund disbursed.

Funds disbursed.

Funds appropriated and outside support being secured.

\$1.5m appropriated to endow with a further \$1.5m to be appropriated in FY99.

Will provide internships for young African entrepreneurs in U.S. and African companies based in Africa.

\$30m appropriated - funds to be disbursed by Treasury.

\$3 m FY98 being disbursed. \$20m FY99 appropriated, and program proposals being solicited.

High-level conference with broad African participation in first quarter of '99

w/Albright, Rubin, Daley, Barshefsky, and Atwood.

Summit on Africa

Work with Congress to ratify desertification convention

Approximately \$1m "Safe Skies Initiative."

Establishment of the African Center for Security Studies

POTUS agreed to host African summit before end of term.

August event in support of ratification with Congressman Jefferson making strong statement.

Slater visited six countries in July, hosting two regional seminars. In October he announced the first eight countries that will receive assistance over the next two years.

Preliminary consultations and site location complete. DOD will begin introductory seminars at round-robin sites starting fall 1999.

2

AFRICA

Exchange Mail

DATE-TIME 12/8/98 10:40:31 AM

FROM Smith, Gayle E.

CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED

SUBJECT FW: for tom lippman [UNCLASSIFIED]

TO Battenfield, Pat A.
Crowley, Philip J.
Crowley, Philip J.
Leavy, David C.
Wozniak, Natalie S.

CARBON_COPY Barks-Ruggles, Erica
Battenfield, Pat A.
Prendergast, John P.
Sanders, Robin R.
Smith, Gayle E.

TEXT_BODY These are the materials from Lippman at the Post. @press, I assume we can go ahead and send? He says he did not receive from your end.
Thks, G

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To: Smith, Gayle E.; Sanders, Robin R.
Cc: @AFRICA - African Affairs; @PRESS - Public Affairs
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AFRICA

Exchange Mail

DATE-TIME 2/23/99 5:39:02 PM
FROM Prendergast, John P.
CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED
SUBJECT FW: DRAFT POTUS Q&A [UNCLASSIFIED]
TO Barks-Ruggles, Erica
Battenfield, Pat A.
Prendergast, John P.
Sanders, Robin R.
Smith, Gayle E.

CARBON_COPY

TEXT_BODY i wrote guidance this afternoon. does anyone know what happened to it? I sent it from gayle's computer to @AFRICA.

-----Original

Message-----

From: Crowley, Philip J.

Sent: Tuesday, February
23, 1999 5:31 PM

To: @AFRICA - African Affairs; @KOSOVO;
@TRANSNATIONAL

- Transnational Threats; @NESASIA - NE/South Asia; @DEFENSE -
Defense

Policy; @NONPRO - Export Controls

Cc: @LEGAL - Legal Advisor; @PRESS

- Public Affairs; @UP - APNSA Special Assistants

Subject: DRAFT

POTUS Q&A [UNCLASSIFIED]

Please give this a once over before we
send to @NSA.

@AFRICA: I know that E/E is on the other side of
Africa, but the media may think Africa and think that. Perhaps we
need a Q&A.

Also, in the Q&A on Africa trip and Sierra Leone,
they are economic answers, how much we've spent. There perhaps
needs

to be a little more of the mood of what he saw and did in Africa
and how that has shaped policy since. And in Sierra Leone, don't
we need to say that the situation there is bad and we're doing all
we can with our African partners to bring it to an end. And don't

we need a question on genocide?

Thanks.

PJ

TRANSLATED_ATTACHMENT rawlings.doc

PRESIDENTIAL NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS GUIDANCE
FOR PRESS CONFERENCE
WITH PRESIDENT RAWLINGS OF GHANA

FEBRUARY 24, 1999

AFRICA

- * Ghana
- * U.S.-Africa Ministerial
- * Africa Trip: One Year Later
- * Africa Growth and Opportunity Act
- * Sierra Leone
- * Nigeria

KOSOVO

MILITARY PAY

LIBYA - PAN AM 103

CHINA SATELLITES

AFRICA

Ghana

Is Ghana's democratic transition a model that you would recommend for other countries?

- * Yes. After a long and difficult period as a unitary one-party state, Ghana emerged as a nascent democratic state with controversial multi-party

elections in 1992. Elections in 1996 were deemed free and transparent by domestic and international observers. Ghana's 1993 Constitution enshrined individual political and civic rights and created a system of government that includes checks and balances. Support for Ghana's Constitution and democratic evolution permeates all sector's of Ghanaian society.

Does Ghana play a constructive role in the region?

* Yes, Ghana has been a strong force for peace, regional integration and economic growth in West Africa. Ghana is a leading member of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and active participant in its military arm, the ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG). As an influential member of ECOWAS, Ghana contributes to efforts to promote regional economic integration and regional peace and stability. Ghana is the second largest contributor to peacekeeping forces in West Africa. Under ECOMOG auspices, Ghanaian peacekeepers have played a key role in promoting peace and security in Liberia and Sierra Leone.

Q: What has been Ghana's peacekeeping role?

* Ghana is a world leader in peacekeeping activity. Since the 1960's Ghanaian forces have participated in 16 separate UN-sponsored peacekeeping activities in troubled regions around the globe, including Bosnia, Cambodia, and Lebanon. Ghana has also played a valuable peacekeeping role in Africa. Ghana presently has peacekeeping forces in Liberia and Sierra Leone.

Q: How would you characterize Ghana's relations with Libya?

* Ghana's relations with Libya are complex. Libya provided Ghana with economic assistance in the 1980's, and today a number of Libyan-owned

businesses operate in Ghana. Ghana has been reluctant to criticize Libya openly or pursue sanctions against it. Ghana has not, however, demonstrated any support for Libya's terrorist policies or for its interference in the internal politics of numerous African countries.

U.S.-Africa Ministerial: Partnership for the 21st Century

What are the goals of the Ministerial?

* The U.S.-Africa Ministerial: Partnership for the 21st Century will be held March 16-18. I'm looking forward to participating in it. Historic opportunity to meet with ministers from most of the nations of Africa, will seek to further our partnership with Africa, and to discuss frankly ways to expand and accelerate our cooperation including in the areas of economic development, trade, investment and governance.

* We have worked closely with the representatives from the nations of Africa in conceptualizing this ministerial and we believe it will embody the true spirit of our partnership with Africa.

* We hold similar discussions with nations in Asia, Latin America and Europe, and we believe that it is important to have this dialogue now with our African partners.

You say there are Ministers from 46 countries attending? There are 53 countries in Africa, who is not coming?

* We have invited Ministers from 46 of the 48 countries in sub-Saharan Africa. We have not invited Libyan or Sudanese representatives as they are state-sponsors of terrorism, and there are no Somali ministers as Somalia does not have a central government.

* The Washington-based Ambassadors of the northern African countries (Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria and Egypt) will represent their countries.

Africa Trip: One Year Later

It has been a year since you traveled to Africa. Has anything been accomplished on the promises you made then?

* The Administration has aggressively implemented my partnership in the last year, including:

* providing this year (FY99) \$245 million in bilateral concessional debt relief (at a budget cost of \$27 million) for Africa's strongest reforms.

* providing \$30 million in FY99 in technical assistance for Africans to strengthen their economic capacity.

* creating an office of Assistant U.S. Trade Representative for Africa and filling that position.

* creating at the Export-Import Bank of a senior advisor on Africa and an advisory branch on Africa

* creating two equity investment funds at the Overseas Private Investment Corporation, and beginning the processes to create a third, infrastructure fund.

African Growth and Opportunity Act

What has the Administration done to support the passage of the Africa trade bill?

Why hasn't the White House been visible on this?

* The Administration, since 1997, has been -- and continues to be -- very supportive and very visible on the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) (HR 434).

* The AGOA was the only specific piece of legislation I mentioned in the SOTU.

* We have provided Cabinet level representation for most of the hearings on the AGOA, including the House Ways and Means Trade subcommittee hearing on the bill yesterday, at which Secretary Daley testified.

* This is but the latest in a strong and sustained effort by the Administration to work with the bipartisan supporters of this bill in Congress. As I said earlier, we believe this bill is good for Africa and good for America, and I urge Congress to pass this bill quickly.

Sierra Leone

What is the US doing to stop the slaughter in Sierra Leone and support regional peacekeepers and address humanitarian issues?

* Past five months we have expended \$1.3 million to support ECOMOG's logistic and communication needs and a further \$2 million for medical support for its contingents. Notified Congress we would like to transfer additional \$2.7 million to these efforts - understand Sen. McConnell's staff has put a hold on this - urge him to remove that hold so this urgently needed assistance can go through.

* Working with the international community to provide assistance over 700,000 refugees and internally displaced persons, including hundreds that have been grotesquely mutilated by the rebels. Last year provided over \$50 million to this effort - have given another \$26 million for food, shelter, health and medical needs of civilians in past 5 months.

* Also intensely engaged on the diplomatic front, including multiple trips to the region and continual contact with the key players by our Special Envoy for the Promotion of Democracy in Africa, Rev. Jesse Jackson, and our

Special Envoy for
Liberia, Ambassador Howard Jeter.

Nigeria

What can you tell us about the elections in Nigeria on Saturday? Were they successful?

* The February 20 elections were not perfect by anyone's measure. They are, however, an important step in Nigeria's return to civilian rule, a process that has, for the most part, been a positive one generally acceptable to the political parties and to most international and domestic observers.

* Understand elections were held in a calm atmosphere, but that voter turnout was much lower than expected. We view the legislative polling over the weekend as a further step along the road to civilian rule and to the realization of the democratic hopes and aspirations of the Nigerian people.

KOSOVO

Main Points

* Rambouillet is an important step forward. We intend to keep working with the parties. Ambassador Chris Hill will continue his engagement over the next three weeks. I hope the Kosovars will move quickly to accept our draft formally. If they agree, this will step up pressure on the Serbs to sign.

* In the meantime, all sides must exercise restraint and avoid provocations. NATO SYG Solana retains authority to launch air strikes against FRY if necessary.

* More broadly, let's remember what has been accomplished over the past few months. In response to the Serb offensive last year, we brokered a deal that provided for a cease-fire and 2,000 civilian verifiers to enter Kosovo.

* We managed to avert a major humanitarian disaster over the winter, but it became increasingly clear that without a real peace agreement that provides for substantial self-government in Kosovo, fighting would resume on a wide-scale this spring.

* For the past several months we've been working with all elements of the Kosovar Albanian community to try to forge a single negotiating team and to develop a proposal with substantial self-government for Kosovo.

* As a result of our efforts, they came together for the first time as a single team and have agreed in principle to sign our proposed peace agreement after two weeks of consultations in Kosovo.

* The Serbs have not agreed to sign, but they have agreed to substantial parts of the "political" agreement on Kosovo self-government.

Exactly what have parties agreed to?

* Much progress was made. Albanian side showed great courage and adopted the agreement in principle. Want a few weeks to check with leadership at home but have expressed their clear intention to sign it. Understandable position, as they represent a broad range of opinion. Unlike Serb delegation, there's no autocratic leader.

* Serb side accepted major elements of substantial autonomy for Kosovars, but did not soften its opposition to NATO-led implementation force. But that is only way to enforce the agreement. Without a NATO force, it's just another piece of paper.

* We'll press both sides to sign when they reconvene on March 15.

What if the Serbs will only sign the political part? Will you bomb

them?

- * The agreement is a package. Neither party can pick and choose what it wants.

- * And without a military implementing force, it's not a serious agreement.

- * We've made it clear to the Serbs that it's in their interest to agree. They know that NATO stands ready to take military action if necessary to end their repression of -- and violence against -- the Kosovar Albanians.

Do the Kosovars get a referendum?

- * One of the most difficult issues concerns what will happen at the end of the three-year interim period. The Kosovars want a binding referendum to decide.

- * Neither we nor Allies could agree to this, because it was tantamount to accepting Kosovo's independence - which we think could destabilize the region.

- * Agreement does provide for an international meeting at the end of the three years "to determine a mechanism for a final settlement " based, inter alia, on "the will of the people."

- * So the agreement does not preclude a referendum, and the Kosovars have indicated that they intend to conduct one to determine the will of the people. However, it would not be binding under the agreement.

What comes next?

- * Parties will now go back to the region to consult with their authorities on the settlement. They will reconvene in France on 15 March, hopefully to agree on all elements of the agreement on the table.

What's the point of further talks -- won't the process just drag on?

* Rambouillet ended the first phase of talks and has moved the parties closer

toward the goal of a peaceful settlement. To give up now would be a mistake.

The parties have never before come so close to a peace agreement.

* Such an agreement is the only way to end the violence and bloodshed, stop Serb

repression of the Kosovar Albanians and create genuine self-government for

Kosovo.

You said on Friday that you didn't think the talks should be extended.

Then you

reversed yourself, we hear because of the Allies. And now you've got less than

an agreement and fallen off threat to bomb the Serbs. What's going on? Do you

have a policy? What happened to U.S. leadership?

* There's no question that the parties would not have gotten as far as they did

without U.S. leadership, from President Clinton to Madeleine Albright to Sandy

Berger to Chris Hill.

* Negotiators have to flexible at times, hard-nosed at others. You can't shut

down talks when the parties want to keep talking. I'm glad we didn't, as the

parties have come a long way towards signing the agreement we presented them.

Will take more time, but beats using battlefield to get results.

* The Serbs are on notice that NATO is watching them very carefully, and that

NATO SYG Solana already has the authority he needs to launch air strikes if

necessary.

What if fighting starts again?

* We've called upon both sides to observe the cease-fire and honor the

commitments they made to the international community back in October.

- * Remain very concerned about indications of an offensive by Serb forces. If Milosevic does this, NATO stands ready to respond. SYG Solana has the authority that he needs to launch air strikes and Allied aircraft have been prepositioned.

- * The Kosovars too must show restraint. If they do not, they will lose NATO's support for their legitimate aspirations.

What are the specific details of the proposed interim peace settlement?

- * It provides substantial autonomy to Kosovo expressed through executive, legislative and judicial institutions.

- * Kosovars will have their own elections and direct authority over police, taxation, finances, education, health care and cultural institutions.

- * All Serb forces except for a small number of border guards will withdraw and the KLA will demilitarize.

- * With these important provisions in place, Kosovars can resume control over their own lives.

Why does the U.S. care about Kosovo?

- * Three important interests are at stake:

- * First, clear interest in protecting regional stability and our investment in Bosnia. If we don't try to stop conflict now, it will spread. And if it spreads, we won't be able to stop it except at far greater risk and cost.

- * Second, we've got an important interest in averting another humanitarian catastrophe and more Serb atrocities this spring.

- * Third, we have a key interest in preserving NATO's credibility as a guarantor of European stability and U.S. credibility as the leader of NATO.

Under what conditions would the United States deploy ground forces

to Kosovo?

* Believe a NATO commitment to implement the agreement is necessary to give both sides the confidence they need to sign and implement it. It's protection for both sides -- that the Serb forces will withdraw and that the KLA will demilitarize.

* President's final decision whether the U.S. would participate in an implementation force depends on a satisfactory peace agreement, a truly permissive environment, a clearly defined NATO mission and a realistic exit strategy.

Why are U.S. forces needed? Why can't the Europeans do it on their own?

* Our European Allies would bear most of the burden for any force in Kosovo, contributing 85% of the troops for the NATO operation. They would also pick up most of the responsibility for civilian implementation costs.

* But NATO is strongest and most credible as a transatlantic partnership. U.S. involvement adds both credibility and conviction to the NATO mission, as it has in Bosnia.

If a NATO force is deployed to Kosovo, who will be responsible for law enforcement functions -- NATO, the Kosovars, or the MUP? What role will the KVM have in law enforcement activities?

* First, let me be clear that a NATO force would not engage in civil police functions. The OSCE KVM will have responsibility for the training and establishment of a Kosovar police force.

* Initially, most MUP will withdraw, but a small percentage of MUP will be allowed to remain in Kosovo under international supervision while the Kosovar police force is being developed. The MUP will be completely phased

out as the
Kosovars assume civil police functions.

* The NATO force would contribute to the secure environment needed for KVM and others to carry out the civil aspects of a signed agreement.

Will you seek Congressional support for NATO deployment?

* We welcome broadest possible support for any deployment and will work with Congress to that end.

[Note: In our view Congressional authorization is not required for a permissive/consensual ground deployment or the air strikes contemplated. Thus we would welcome an expression of support but would not seek it.]

Will you wait for a vote before deploying?

* Can't make that absolute commitment, but we will keep in close touch as this evolves.

Will you comply with War Power Resolution (WPR) and Roberts Amendment reporting requirement for strikes or deployment?

* In event of air strikes, we would report to Congress consistent with the WPR within 48 hours after strikes.

* Roberts Amendment does not apply to air strikes. It is limited to ground unit deployments. A report would be provided before deploying additional ground forces to the FRY, Macedonia or Albania.

What's your exit strategy for deployment?

* Our commitment would not be open-ended, but rooted in a realistic exit strategy. Learning from Bosnia, key to this is not setting automatic

deadlines,
but creating benchmarks for critical conditions needed for self-sustaining peace.

* Have shaped peace agreement with exit strategy firmly in mind. Provides for removal of most Serb forces and demilitarization of KLA. Will eliminate Serb repression and give Kosovars back control over their own lives. With OSCE help, Kosovars can develop political institutions needed for self-government and build own police force for law and order.

* May still be a need for over-the-horizon capabilities to deter a return of Serb security forces to Kosovo, but should no longer be need for international force in Kosovo.

How much is all this going to cost?

* Recognize that costs on military and civilian side would be significant -- preliminary estimates for FY-99 are \$1.5-2 billion for military and civilian implementation -- and would need to seek emergency supplemental request.

* Does not seem possible to rely on offsets or use recently increased defense spending for readiness and modernization.

MILITARY PAY

Does the Administration support S.4?

* The pay and retirement benefits I put in the budget reflects a balanced approach to meet the recruiting and retention goals of the Armed Services, while ensuring that sufficient funds will be available for critical readiness and modernization accounts.

* General Shelton and Secretary Cohen have both testified that the pay and retirement benefits requested in the budget will meet the recruiting and retention goals of the Armed Services. They also testified that the increases requested for other readiness and modernization accounts are critical for supporting our men and women in uniform.

* Spending on personnel accounts in excess of that needed to meet recruiting and retention goals will not improve readiness. Rather, it will reduce funding for maintenance, training, modernization and other accounts the Chairman and Service Chiefs have identified as critical for preventing serious erosion of readiness in the near future and over the long term.

Would you veto S.4?

* We will work with the Congress to put together a pay and benefits package that will meet the recruiting and retention goals of the Armed Services while not unnecessarily diverting funds from critical readiness and modernization accounts. My Administration will continue to take a comprehensive approach as we work with Congress to meet the needs of our men and women in uniform.

LIBYA - PAN AM 103

Do you have any indication at this point that Libya plans to turn over the Pan Am 103 suspects this week?

* There has been a lot of speculation about this. However, justice can be done only when Libya turns over the two suspects for trial in accordance with UNSCR 1192. Libya has had plenty of time to do so.

* We seek a trial of the suspects which will provide justice for the Pan Am 103 victims and their families. Libya should turn them over now. Justice has been too long delayed. Our determination has not wavered since UNSCR

1192 was adopted
last August -- or, indeed, since the Lockerbie bombing in December
1988.

* We have received a great deal of help and support in this effort.
Secretary
General Annan has worked extensively on this, trying to clarify to
Libya what its
clear responsibilities are. But I want to emphasize that there has been
no
negotiation. There is no secret deal. Our bottom line has been, and
remains, a
trial under Scottish law in the Netherlands, with the defendants to be
incarcerated in a Scottish prison if convicted.

Has the United States agreed, as has been reported, not to seek to
undermine,
implicate or embarrass the Libyan government?

* Our aims are clear and unchanged: we seek a trial of the suspects
which will
provide justice for the Pan Am 103 victims and their families.

* The initiative embodied in UNSCR 1192 is entirely consistent with
that
objective.

What terms have been agreed for lifting or suspending the UN
sanctions on Libya?

* UNSCR 1192 states that sanctions will be suspended when the two
suspects are
turned over to Dutch authorities for trial.

* Libya will have to meet other requirements, including cooperation
in the French
investigation of the UTA 772 bombing, in order for sanctions to be
lifted
permanently.

What will the United States do if Libya does not turn them over?

* Libya has had plenty of time to comply with UNSCR 1192.

* I have made it clear that the United States will seek further measures
against
Libya if the suspects are not in Dutch hands prior to the Security

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review of Libya sanctions on Friday.

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It appears that the Commerce Department has denied an export license for a Hughes satellite that you previously granted a waiver for. Does this represent a reversal of your policy regarding the export of satellites to China?

* Given that this license review process is on-going, there is a limit to what I can say. I understand that the recommendation to deny the Commerce licenses was based on concerns regarding the behavior of the U.S. company involved and concerns regarding the end-user. To me, this is an example of how the review process we set up five years ago works effectively - looking at export licenses on a case-by-case basis and making an appropriate judgement based on our national interest. I'm satisfied that has been the case in this instance.

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Exchange Mail

DATE-TIME 2/23/99 5:58:35 PM
FROM Prendergast, John P.
CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED
SUBJECT FW: DRAFT POTUS Q&A [UNCLASSIFIED]
TO Barks-Ruggles, Erica
Battenfield, Pat A.
Prendergast, John P.
Sanders, Robin R.
Smith, Gayle E.

CARBON_COPY

TEXT_BODY shouldn't we also have a contingency DROC conflict point?

-----Original
Message-----
From: Prendergast, John P.
Sent: Tuesday, February
23, 1999 5:58 PM
To: @AFRICA - African Affairs
Subject: FW: DRAFT
POTUS Q&A [UNCLASSIFIED]

E/E and genocide points added; over to
erica

-----Original Message-----
From: Smith, Gayle E.
Sent: Tuesday,
February 23, 1999 5:43 PM
To: @AFRICA - African Affairs
Subject: FW:
DRAFT POTUS Q&A [UNCLASSIFIED]

Sorry but this is NUTS

John
-- please add your EE point into this document and do a question
on genocide as PJ suggests
Erica -- please strengthen SL point as
per PJ comments

Thanks, please return to me

-----Original Message-----

From: Crowley,

Philip J.

Sent: Tuesday, February 23, 1999 5:31 PM

To: @AFRICA

- African Affairs; @KOSOVO; @TRANSNATIONAL -
Transnational Threats;

@NESASIA - NE/South Asia; @DEFENSE - Defense Policy;

@NONPRO - Export
Controls

Cc: @LEGAL - Legal Advisor; @PRESS - Public Affairs; @UP
- APNSA Special Assistants

Subject: DRAFT POTUS Q&A [UNCLASSIFIED]

Please

give this a once over before we send to @NSA.

@AFRICA: I know

that E/E is on the other side of Africa, but the media may think
Africa and think that. Perhaps we need a Q&A.

Also, in the Q&A

on Africa trip and Sierra Leone, they are economic answers, how
much

we've spent. There perhaps needs to be a little more of the mood
of what he saw and did in Africa and how that has shaped policy
since.

And in Sierra Leone, don't we need to say that the situation there
is bad and we're doing all we can with our African partners to bring
it to an end. And don't we need a question on genocide?

Thanks.

PJ

TRANSLATED_ATTACHMENT rawlings.doc

**PRESIDENTIAL NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS GUIDANCE
FOR PRESS CONFERENCE
WITH PRESIDENT RAWLINGS OF GHANA**

FEBRUARY 24, 1999

AFRICA

- * Ghana
- * U.S.-Africa Ministerial
- * Africa Trip: One Year Later
- * Africa Growth and Opportunity Act
- * Sierra Leone
- * Nigeria
- * Ethiopia/Eritrea
- * Genocide

KOSOVO

MILITARY PAY

LIBYA - PAN AM 103

CHINA SATELLITES

AFRICA

Ghana

Is Ghana's democratic transition a model that you would recommend for other countries?

- * Yes. After a long and difficult period as a unitary one-party state, Ghana emerged as a nascent democratic state with controversial multi-party elections in 1992. Elections in 1996 were deemed free and transparent by domestic and international observers. Ghana's 1993 Constitution enshrined individual political and civic rights and created a system of government that includes checks and balances. Support for Ghana's Constitution and democratic evolution permeates all sector's of Ghanaian society.

Does Ghana play a constructive role in the region?

- * Yes, Ghana has been a strong force for peace, regional integration and economic growth in West Africa. Ghana is a leading member of the Economic Community of

West African States (ECOWAS) and active participant in its military arm, the ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG). As an influential member of ECOWAS, Ghana contributes to efforts to promote regional economic integration and regional peace and stability. Ghana is the second largest contributor to peacekeeping forces in West Africa. Under ECOMOG auspices, Ghanaian peacekeepers have played a key role in promoting peace and security in Liberia and Sierra Leone.

Q: What has been Ghana's peacekeeping role?

* Ghana is a world leader in peacekeeping activity. Since the 1960's Ghanaian forces have participated in 16 separate UN-sponsored peacekeeping activities in troubled regions around the globe, including Bosnia, Cambodia, and Lebanon. Ghana has also played a valuable peacekeeping role in Africa. Ghana presently has peacekeeping forces in Liberia and Sierra Leone.

Q: How would you characterize Ghana's relations with Libya?

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What are the goals of the Ministerial?

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to meet with ministers from most of the nations of Africa, will seek to further
our partnership with Africa, and to discuss frankly ways to expand and accelerate
our cooperation including in the areas of economic development, trade, investment
and governance.

* We have worked closely with the representatives from the nations of Africa in
conceptualizing this ministerial and we believe it will embody the true spirit of
our partnership with Africa.

* We hold similar discussions with nations in Asia, Latin America and Europe, and
we believe that it is important to have this dialogue now with our African
partners.

You say there are Ministers from 46 countries attending? There are 53 countries
in Africa, who is not coming?

* We have invited Ministers from 46 of the 48 countries in sub-Saharan Africa.
We have not invited Libyan or Sudanese representatives as they are state-sponsors
of terrorism, and there are no Somali ministers as Somalia does not have a
central government.

* The Washington-based Ambassadors of the northern African countries (Morocco,
Tunisia, Algeria and Egypt) will represent their countries.

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It has been a year since you traveled to Africa. Has anything been accomplished
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* The Administration has aggressively implemented my partnership in the last
year, including:

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(at a budget cost of \$27 million) for Africa's strongest reforms.

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African Growth and Opportunity Act

What has the Administration done to support the passage of the Africa trade bill?

Why hasn't the White House been visible on this?

- * The Administration, since 1997, has been -- and continues to be -- very supportive and very visible on the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) (HR 434).

- * The AGOA was the only specific piece of legislation I mentioned in the SOTU.

- * We have provided Cabinet level representation for most of the hearings on the AGOA, including the House Ways and Means Trade subcommittee hearing on the bill yesterday, at which Secretary Daley testified.

- * This is but the latest in a strong and sustained effort by the Administration to work with the bipartisan supporters of this bill in Congress. As I said earlier, we believe this bill is good for Africa and good for America, and I urge Congress to pass this bill quickly.

Sierra Leone

What is the US doing to stop the slaughter in Sierra Leone and support regional peacekeepers and address humanitarian issues?

* Past five months we have expended \$1.3 million to support ECOMOG's logistic and communication needs and a further \$2 million for medical support for its contingents. Notified Congress we would like to transfer additional \$2.7 million to these efforts - understand Sen. McConnell's staff has put a hold on this - urge him to remove that hold so this urgently needed assistance can go through.

* Working with the international community to provide assistance over 700,000 refugees and internally displaced persons, including hundreds that have been grotesquely mutilated by the rebels. Last year provided over \$50 million to this effort - have given another \$26 million for food, shelter, health and medical needs of civilians in past 5 months.

* Also intensely engaged on the diplomatic front, including multiple trips to the region and continual contact with the key players by our Special Envoy for the Promotion of Democracy in Africa, Rev. Jesse Jackson, and our Special Envoy for Liberia, Ambassador Howard Jeter.

Nigeria

What can you tell us about the elections in Nigeria on Saturday? Were they successful?

* The February 20 elections were not perfect by anyone's measure. They are, however, an important step in Nigeria's return to civilian rule, a process that has, for the most part, been a positive one generally acceptable to the political parties and to most international and domestic observers.

* Understand elections were held in a calm atmosphere, but that voter turnout was much lower than expected. We view the legislative polling over the weekend as a further step along the road to civilian rule and to the realization of the democratic hopes and aspirations of the Nigerian people.

Ethiopia/Eritrea

What are you doing about the conflict between Ethiopia and Eritrea?

* The war between Ethiopia and Eritrea is a disaster for the people and the interests of both countries. The OAU, the UN, the EU and the United States have all tried to avert the escalation of this conflict.

* I join the UN Security Council in calling for an end to the fighting and a return to a diplomatic solution. In failing to reach a diplomatic solution, the two governments have taken on the responsibility for the resumption of armed conflict.

Genocide

What are you doing to follow up your speech in Kigali last year pledging to oppose genocide?

* I participated in a summit meeting in Uganda with the heads of state of a number of African countries in which we pledged to explore the creation of an International Coalition Against Genocide in the Great Lakes. We have undertaken consultations with a number of African governments since then, and the Coalition will be formed in the near future. It will provide a mechanism to coordinate actions between states to prevent future atrocities in this war-torn region by countering arms supplies and money flows to those that would perpetrate genocide, and bringing to justice those that have organized and committed genocide.

* We are also launching my Great Lakes Justice Initiative, which is

designed to support the rule of law throughout the region, to build transparent justice systems, and to buttress peace and reconciliation initiatives.

KOSOVO

Main Points

- * Rambouillet is an important step forward. We intend to keep working with the parties. Ambassador Chris Hill will continue his engagement over the next three weeks. I hope the Kosovars will move quickly to accept our draft formally. If they agree, this will step up pressure on the Serbs to sign.
- * In the meantime, all sides must exercise restraint and avoid provocations. NATO SYG Solana retains authority to launch air strikes against FRY if necessary.
- * More broadly, let's remember what has been accomplished over the past few months. In response to the Serb offensive last year, we brokered a deal that provided for a cease-fire and 2,000 civilian verifiers to enter Kosovo.
- * We managed to avert a major humanitarian disaster over the winter, but it became increasingly clear that without a real peace agreement that provides for substantial self-government in Kosovo, fighting would resume on a wide-scale this spring.
- * For the past several months we've been working with all elements of the Kosovar Albanian community to try to forge a single negotiating team and to develop a proposal with substantial self-government for Kosovo.
- * As a result of our efforts, they came together for the first time as a single team and have agreed in principle to sign our proposed peace agreement after two weeks of consultations in Kosovo.
- * The Serbs have not agreed to sign, but they have agreed to

substantial parts of
the "political" agreement on Kosovo self-government.

Exactly what have parties agreed to?

* Much progress was made. Albanian side showed great courage and adopted the agreement in principle. Want a few weeks to check with leadership at home but have expressed their clear intention to sign it. Understandable position, as they represent a broad range of opinion. Unlike Serb delegation, there's no autocratic leader.

* Serb side accepted major elements of substantial autonomy for Kosovars, but did not soften its opposition to NATO-led implementation force. But that is only way to enforce the agreement. Without a NATO force, it's just another piece of paper.

* We'll press both sides to sign when they reconvene on March 15.

What if the Serbs will only sign the political part? Will you bomb them?

* The agreement is a package. Neither party can pick and choose what it wants.

* And without a military implementing force, it's not a serious agreement.

* We've made it clear to the Serbs that it's in their interest to agree. They know that NATO stands ready to take military action if necessary to end their repression of -- and violence against -- the Kosovar Albanians.

Do the Kosovars get a referendum?

* One of the most difficult issues concerns what will happen at the end of the three-year interim period. The Kosovars want a binding referendum to decide.

* Neither we nor Allies could agree to this, because it was tantamount to accepting Kosovo's independence - which we think could destabilize the region.

* Agreement does provide for an international meeting at the end of the three years "to determine a mechanism for a final settlement " based, inter alia, on "the will of the people."

* So the agreement does not preclude a referendum, and the Kosovars have indicated that they intend to conduct one to determine the will of the people. However, it would not be binding under the agreement.

What comes next?

* Parties will now go back to the region to consult with their authorities on the settlement. They will reconvene in France on 15 March, hopefully to agree on all elements of the agreement on the table.

What's the point of further talks -- won't the process just drag on?

* Rambouillet ended the first phase of talks and has moved the parties closer toward the goal of a peaceful settlement. To give up now would be a mistake. The parties have never before come so close to a peace agreement.

* Such an agreement is the only way to end the violence and bloodshed, stop Serb repression of the Kosovar Albanians and create genuine self-government for Kosovo.

You said on Friday that you didn't think the talks should be extended. Then you reversed yourself, we hear because of the Allies. And now you've got less than an agreement and fallen off threat to bomb the Serbs. What's going on? Do you have a policy? What happened to U.S. leadership?

* There's no question that the parties would not have gotten as far as they did without U.S. leadership, from President Clinton to Madeleine Albright to Sandy Berger to Chris Hill.

* Negotiators have to be flexible at times, hard-nosed at others. You can't shut down talks when the parties want to keep talking. I'm glad we didn't, as the parties have come a long way towards signing the agreement we presented them. Will take more time, but beats using battlefield to get results.

* The Serbs are on notice that NATO is watching them very carefully, and that NATO SYG Solana already has the authority he needs to launch air strikes if necessary.

What if fighting starts again?

* We've called upon both sides to observe the cease-fire and honor the commitments they made to the international community back in October.

* Remain very concerned about indications of an offensive by Serb forces. If Milosevic does this, NATO stands ready to respond. SYG Solana has the authority that he needs to launch air strikes and Allied aircraft have been prepositioned.

* The Kosovars too must show restraint. If they do not, they will lose NATO's support for their legitimate aspirations.

What are the specific details of the proposed interim peace settlement?

* It provides substantial autonomy to Kosovo expressed through executive, legislative and judicial institutions.

* Kosovars will have their own elections and direct authority over police, taxation, finances, education, health care and cultural institutions.

- * All Serb forces except for a small number of border guards will withdraw and the KLA will demilitarize.

- * With these important provisions in place, Kosovars can resume control over their own lives.

Why does the U.S. care about Kosovo?

- * Three important interests are at stake:

- * First, clear interest in protecting regional stability and our investment in Bosnia. If we don't try to stop conflict now, it will spread. And if it spreads, we won't be able to stop it except at far greater risk and cost.

- * Second, we've got an important interest in averting another humanitarian catastrophe and more Serb atrocities this spring.

- * Third, we have a key interest in preserving NATO's credibility as a guarantor of European stability and U.S. credibility as the leader of NATO.

Under what conditions would the United States deploy ground forces to Kosovo?

- * Believe a NATO commitment to implement the agreement is necessary to give both sides the confidence they need to sign and implement it. It's protection for both sides -- that the Serb forces will withdraw and that the KLA will demilitarize.

- * President's final decision whether the U.S. would participate in an implementation force depends on a satisfactory peace agreement, a truly permissive environment, a clearly defined NATO mission and a realistic exit strategy.

Why are U.S. forces needed? Why can't the Europeans do it on their own?

- * Our European Allies would bear most of the burden for any force in Kosovo,

contributing 85% of the troops for the NATO operation. They would also pick up most of the responsibility for civilian implementation costs.

* But NATO is strongest and most credible as a transatlantic partnership. U.S. involvement adds both credibility and conviction to the NATO mission, as it has in Bosnia.

If a NATO force is deployed to Kosovo, who will be responsible for law enforcement functions -- NATO, the Kosovars, or the MUP? What role will the KVM have in law enforcement activities?

* First, let me be clear that a NATO force would not engage in civil police functions. The OSCE KVM will have responsibility for the training and establishment of a Kosovar police force.

* Initially, most MUP will withdraw, but a small percentage of MUP will be allowed to remain in Kosovo under international supervision while the Kosovar police force is being developed. The MUP will be completely phased out as the Kosovars assume civil police functions.

* The NATO force would contribute to the secure environment needed for KVM and others to carry out the civil aspects of a signed agreement.

Will you seek Congressional support for NATO deployment?

* We welcome broadest possible support for any deployment and will work with Congress to that end.

[Note: In our view Congressional authorization is not required for a permissive/consensual ground deployment or the air strikes contemplated. Thus we would welcome an expression of support but would not seek it.]

Will you wait for a vote before deploying?

* Can't make that absolute commitment, but we will keep in close touch as this evolves.

Will you comply with War Power Resolution (WPR) and Roberts Amendment reporting requirement for strikes or deployment?

* In event of air strikes, we would report to Congress consistent with the WPR within 48 hours after strikes.

* Roberts Amendment does not apply to air strikes. It is limited to ground unit deployments. A report would be provided before deploying additional ground forces to the FRY, Macedonia or Albania.

What's your exit strategy for deployment?

* Our commitment would not be open-ended, but rooted in a realistic exit strategy. Learning from Bosnia, key to this is not setting automatic deadlines, but creating benchmarks for critical conditions needed for self-sustaining peace.

* Have shaped peace agreement with exit strategy firmly in mind. Provides for removal of most Serb forces and demilitarization of KLA. Will eliminate Serb repression and give Kosovars back control over their own lives. With OSCE help, Kosovars can develop political institutions needed for self-government and build own police force for law and order.

* May still be a need for over-the-horizon capabilities to deter a return of Serb security forces to Kosovo, but should no longer be need for international force in Kosovo.

How much is all this going to cost?

* Recognize that costs on military and civilian side would be significant -- preliminary estimates for FY-99 are \$1.5-2 billion for military and civilian implementation -- and would need to seek emergency supplemental request.

* Does not seem possible to rely on offsets or use recently increased defense spending for readiness and modernization.

MILITARY PAY

Does the Administration support S.4?

* The pay and retirement benefits I put in the budget reflects a balanced approach to meet the recruiting and retention goals of the Armed Services, while ensuring that sufficient funds will be available for critical readiness and modernization accounts.

* General Shelton and Secretary Cohen have both testified that the pay and retirement benefits requested in the budget will meet the recruiting and retention goals of the Armed Services. They also testified that the increases requested for other readiness and modernization accounts are critical for supporting our men and women in uniform.

* Spending on personnel accounts in excess of that needed to meet recruiting and retention goals will not improve readiness. Rather, it will reduce funding for maintenance, training, modernization and other accounts the Chairman and Service Chiefs have identified as critical for preventing serious erosion of readiness in the near future and over the long term.

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23

4

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FROM Crowley, Philip J.
CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED
SUBJECT POTUS Q&A [UNCLASSIFIED]

TO Barks-Ruggles, Erica
Battenfield, Pat A.
Prendergast, John P.
Sanders, Robin R.
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CARBON_COPY Bobbitt, Philip C.
Crowley, Philip J.
Gobush, Matthew N.
Hammer, Michael A.
Hurwitz, Marc I.
Leavy, David C.
Wozniak, Natalie S.

TEXT_BODY This is the latest version.

PJ

TRANSLATED_ATTACHMENT rawlings_.doc

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FEBRUARY 24, 1999

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Why hasn't the White House been visible on this?

- * The Administration, since 1997, has been -- and continues to be -- very supportive and very visible on the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) (HR 434).

- * The AGOA was the only specific piece of legislation I mentioned in the SOTU.

- * We have provided Cabinet level representation for most of the hearings on the AGOA, including the House Ways and Means Trade subcommittee hearing on the bill yesterday, at which Secretary Daley testified.

- * This is but the latest in a strong and sustained effort by the Administration to work with the bipartisan supporters of this bill in Congress. As I said earlier, we believe this bill is good for Africa and good for America, and I urge Congress to pass this bill quickly.

Sierra Leone

What is the US doing to stop the slaughter in Sierra Leone and support regional peacekeepers and address humanitarian issues?

- * Past five months we have expended \$1.3 million to support ECOMOG's logistic and

communication needs and a further \$2 million for medical support for its contingents. Notified Congress we would like to transfer additional \$2.7 million to these efforts - understand Sen. McConnell's staff has put a hold on this - urge him to remove that hold so this urgently needed assistance can go through.

* Working with the international community to provide assistance over 700,000 refugees and internally displaced persons, including hundreds that have been grotesquely mutilated by the rebels. Last year provided over \$50 million to this effort - have given another \$26 million for food, shelter, health and medical needs of civilians in past 5 months.

* Also intensely engaged on the diplomatic front, including multiple trips to the region and continual contact with the key players by our Special Envoy for the Promotion of Democracy in Africa, Rev. Jesse Jackson, and our Special Envoy for Liberia, Ambassador Howard Jeter.

Nigeria

What can you tell us about the elections in Nigeria on Saturday? Were they successful?

* The February 20 elections were not perfect by anyone's measure. They are, however, an important step in Nigeria's return to civilian rule, a process that has, for the most part, been a positive one generally acceptable to the political parties and to most international and domestic observers.

* Understand elections were held in a calm atmosphere, but that voter turnout was much lower than expected. We view the legislative polling over the weekend as a further step along the road to civilian rule and to the realization of the democratic hopes and aspirations of the Nigerian people.

KOSOVO

Main Points

* Rambouillet is a significant step forward. We intend to keep working with the parties. Ambassador Chris Hill will continue his engagement over the next three weeks. I hope the Kosovars will move quickly to accept our draft formally. If they agree, this will step up pressure on the Serbs to sign.

* In the meantime, all sides must exercise restraint and avoid provocations. NATO SYG Solana retains authority to launch air strikes against FRY if necessary.

* More broadly, let's remember what has been accomplished over the past few months. In response to the Serb offensive last year, we brokered a deal that provided for a cease-fire and 2,000 civilian verifiers to enter Kosovo.

* We managed to avert a major humanitarian disaster over the winter, but it became increasingly clear that without a real peace agreement that provides for substantial self-government in Kosovo, fighting would resume on a wide-scale this spring.

* For the past several months we've been working with all elements of the Kosovar Albanian community to try to forge a single negotiating team and to develop a proposal with substantial self-government for Kosovo.

* Three weeks ago, the Albanians would not sit together in the same room, much less with the Serb delegation. As a result of our efforts, they came together for the first time as a single team, met with the Serb delegation and Secretary Albright present and have agreed in principle to sign our proposed peace agreement after two weeks of consultations in Kosovo.

* The Serbs have not agreed to sign, but they have agreed to

substantial parts of
the "political" agreement on Kosovo self-government.

* So we've taken a significant step forward. Of course we're not there yet and have much work to do in the days ahead.

Exactly what have parties agreed to?

* Much progress was made. Albanian side showed great courage and adopted the agreement in principle. Want a few weeks to check with leadership at home but have expressed their clear intention to sign it. Understandable position, as they represent a broad range of opinion. Unlike Serb delegation, there's no autocratic leader.

* Serb side accepted major elements of substantial autonomy for Kosovars, but did not soften its opposition to NATO-led implementation force. But that is only way to enforce the agreement. Without a NATO force, it's just another piece of paper.

* We'll press both sides to sign when they reconvene on March 15.

What if the Serbs will only sign the political part? Will you bomb them?

* The agreement is a package. Neither party can pick and choose what it wants.

* And without a military implementing force, it's not a serious agreement.

* We've made it clear to the Serbs that it's in their interest to agree. They know that NATO stands ready to take military action if necessary to end their repression of -- and violence against -- the Kosovar Albanians.

Do the Kosovars get a referendum?

* One of the most difficult issues concerns what will happen at the end of the

three-year interim period. The Kosovars want a binding referendum to decide.

* Neither we nor Allies could agree to this, because it was tantamount to accepting Kosovo's independence - which we think could destabilize the region.

* Agreement does provide for an international meeting at the end of the three years "to determine a mechanism for a final settlement " based, inter alia, on "the will of the people."

* So the agreement does not preclude a referendum, and the Kosovars have indicated that they intend to conduct one to determine the will of the people. However, it would not be binding under the agreement.

What comes next?

* Parties will now go back to the region to consult with their authorities on the settlement. They will reconvene in France on 15 March, hopefully to agree on all elements of the agreement on the table.

What's the point of further talks -- won't the process just drag on?

* Rambouillet ended the first phase of talks and has moved the parties closer toward the goal of a peaceful settlement. To give up now would be a mistake. The parties have never before come so close to a peace agreement.

* Such an agreement is the only way to end the violence and bloodshed, stop Serb repression of the Kosovar Albanians and create genuine self-government for Kosovo.

You said on Friday that you didn't think the talks should be extended. Then you reversed yourself, we hear because of the Allies. And now you've got less than an agreement and fallen off threat to bomb the Serbs. What's going

on? Do you
have a policy? What happened to U.S. leadership?

* There's no question that the parties would not have gotten as far as they did without U.S. leadership, from President Clinton to Madeleine Albright to Sandy Berger to Chris Hill.

* Negotiators have to be flexible at times, hard-nosed at others. You can't shut down talks when the parties want to keep talking. I'm glad we didn't, as the parties have come a long way towards signing the agreement we presented them. Will take more time, but beats using battlefield to get results.

* The Serbs are on notice that NATO is watching them very carefully, and that NATO SYG Solana already has the authority he needs to launch air strikes if necessary.

What if fighting starts again?

* We've called upon both sides to observe the cease-fire and honor the commitments they made to the international community back in October.

* Remain very concerned about indications of an offensive by Serb forces. If Milosevic does this, NATO stands ready to respond. SYG Solana has the authority that he needs to launch air strikes and Allied aircraft have been prepositioned.

* The Kosovars too must show restraint. If they do not, they will lose NATO's support for their legitimate aspirations.

What are the specific details of the proposed interim peace settlement?

* It provides substantial autonomy to Kosovo expressed through executive, legislative and judicial institutions.

* Kosovars will have their own elections and direct authority over

police,
taxation, finances, education, health care and cultural institutions.

* All Serb forces except for a small number of border guards will
withdraw and
the KLA will demilitarize.

* With these important provisions in place, Kosovars can resume
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their own lives.

Why does the U.S. care about Kosovo?

* Three important interests are at stake:

* First, clear interest in protecting regional stability and our
investment in
Bosnia. If we don't try to stop conflict now, it will spread. And if it
spreads, we won't be able to stop it except at far greater risk and cost.

* Second, we've got an important interest in averting another
humanitarian
catastrophe and more Serb atrocities this spring.

* Third, we have a key interest in preserving NATO's credibility as a
guarantor
of European stability and U.S. credibility as the leader of NATO.

Under what conditions would the United States deploy ground forces
to Kosovo?

* Believe a NATO commitment to implement the agreement is
necessary to give both
sides the confidence they need to sign and implement it. It's protection
for
both sides -- that the Serb forces will withdraw and that the KLA will
demilitarize.

* President's final decision whether the U.S. would participate in an
implementation force depends on a satisfactory peace agreement, a
truly
permissive environment, a clearly defined NATO mission and a
realistic exit
strategy.

Why are U.S. forces needed? Why can't the Europeans do it on their
own?

* Our European Allies would bear most of the burden for any force in Kosovo, contributing 85% of the troops for the NATO operation. They would also pick up most of the responsibility for civilian implementation costs.

* But NATO is strongest and most credible as a transatlantic partnership. U.S. involvement adds both credibility and conviction to the NATO mission, as it has in Bosnia.

If a NATO force is deployed to Kosovo, who will be responsible for law enforcement functions -- NATO, the Kosovars, or the MUP? What role will the KVM have in law enforcement activities?

* First, let me be clear that a NATO force would not engage in civil police functions. The OSCE KVM will have responsibility for the training and establishment of a Kosovar police force.

* Initially, most MUP will withdraw, but a small percentage of MUP will be allowed to remain in Kosovo under international supervision while the Kosovar police force is being developed. The MUP will be completely phased out as the Kosovars assume civil police functions.

* The NATO force would contribute to the secure environment needed for KVM and others to carry out the civil aspects of a signed agreement.

Will you seek Congressional support for NATO deployment?

* We welcome broadest possible support for any deployment and will work with Congress to that end.

[Note: In our view Congressional authorization is not required for a permissive/consensual ground deployment or the air strikes contemplated. Thus we would welcome an expression of support but would not seek it.]

Will you wait for a vote before deploying?

* Can't make that absolute commitment, but we will keep in close touch as this evolves.

Will you comply with War Power Resolution (WPR) and Roberts Amendment reporting requirement for strikes or deployment?

* In event of air strikes, we would report to Congress consistent with the WPR within 48 hours after strikes.

* Roberts Amendment does not apply to air strikes. It is limited to ground unit deployments. A report would be provided before deploying additional ground forces to the FRY, Macedonia or Albania.

What's your exit strategy for deployment?

* Our commitment would not be open-ended, but rooted in a realistic exit strategy. Learning from Bosnia, key to this is not setting automatic deadlines, but creating benchmarks for critical conditions needed for self-sustaining peace.

* Have shaped peace agreement with exit strategy firmly in mind. Provides for removal of most Serb forces and demilitarization of KLA. Will eliminate Serb repression and give Kosovars back control over their own lives. With OSCE help, Kosovars can develop political institutions needed for self-government and build own police force for law and order.

* May still be a need for over-the-horizon capabilities to deter a return of Serb security forces to Kosovo, but should no longer be need for international force in Kosovo.

How much is all this going to cost?

- * Recognize that costs on military and civilian side would be significant -- preliminary estimates for FY-99 are \$1.5-2 billion for military and civilian implementation -- and would need to seek emergency supplemental request.
- * Does not seem possible to rely on offsets or use recently increased defense spending for readiness and modernization.

MILITARY PAY

Does the Administration support S.4?

- * The pay and retirement benefits I put in the budget reflects a balanced approach to meet the recruiting and retention goals of the Armed Services, while ensuring that sufficient funds will be available for critical readiness and modernization accounts.
- * General Shelton and Secretary Cohen have both testified that the pay and retirement benefits requested in the budget will meet the recruiting and retention goals of the Armed Services. They also testified that the increases requested for other readiness and modernization accounts are critical for supporting our men and women in uniform.
- * Spending on personnel accounts in excess of that needed to meet recruiting and retention goals will not improve readiness. Rather, it will reduce funding for maintenance, training, modernization and other accounts the Chairman and Service Chiefs have identified as critical for preventing serious erosion of readiness in the near future and over the long term.

Would you veto S.4?

* We will work with the Congress to put together a pay and benefits package that will meet the recruiting and retention goals of the Armed Services while not unnecessarily diverting funds from critical readiness and modernization accounts. My Administration will continue to take a comprehensive approach as we work with Congress to meet the needs of our men and women in uniform.

LIBYA - PAN AM 103

Do you have any indication at this point that Libya plans to turn over the Pan Am 103 suspects this week?

* There has been a lot of speculation about this. However, justice can be done only when Libya turns over the two suspects for trial in accordance with UNSCR 1192. Libya has had plenty of time to do so.

* We seek a trial of the suspects which will provide justice for the Pan Am 103 victims and their families. Libya should turn them over now. Justice has been too long delayed. Our determination has not wavered since UNSCR 1192 was adopted last August -- or, indeed, since the Lockerbie bombing in December 1988.

* We have received a great deal of help and support in this effort. Secretary General Annan has worked extensively on this, trying to clarify to Libya what its clear responsibilities are. But I want to emphasize that there has been no negotiation. There is no secret deal. Our bottom line has been, and remains, a trial under Scottish law in the Netherlands, with the defendants to be incarcerated in a Scottish prison if convicted.

Has the United States agreed, as has been reported, not to seek to undermine, implicate or embarrass the Libyan government?

* Our aims are clear and unchanged: we seek a trial of the suspects which will

provide justice for the Pan Am 103 victims and their families.

* The initiative embodied in UNSCR 1192 is entirely consistent with that objective.

What terms have been agreed for lifting or suspending the UN sanctions on Libya?

* UNSCR 1192 states that sanctions will be suspended when the two suspects are turned over to Dutch authorities for trial.

* Libya will have to meet other requirements, including cooperation in the French investigation of the UTA 772 bombing, in order for sanctions to be lifted permanently.

What will the United States do if Libya does not turn them over?

* Libya has had plenty of time to comply with UNSCR 1192.

* I have made it clear that the United States will seek further measures against Libya if the suspects are not in Dutch hands prior to the Security Council's review of Libya sanctions on Friday.

CHINA SATELLITES

It appears that the Commerce Department has denied an export license for a Hughes satellite that you previously granted a waiver for. Does this represent a reversal of your policy regarding the export of satellites to China?

* Given that this license review process is on-going, there is a limit to what I can say. I understand that the recommendation to deny the Commerce licenses was based on concerns regarding the behavior of the U.S. company involved and concerns regarding the end-user. To me, this is an example of how the review process we set up five years ago works effectively - looking at export licenses

on a case-by-case basis and making an appropriate judgement based on our national

interest. I'm satisfied that has been the case in this instance.

* We have not changed our overall policy. The U.S. intends to authorize launches

of U.S. satellites from China in the future when it's clear that export licenses

can both help U.S. industry remain competitive and also protect national security

interests.

23

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Exchange Mail

DATE-TIME 2/23/99 8:19:17 PM
FROM Barks-Ruggles, Erica
CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED
SUBJECT FW: Q&A [UNCLASSIFIED]
TO Smith, Gayle E.

CARBON_COPY Barks-Ruggles, Erica
Battenfield, Pat A.
Prendergast, John P.
Sanders, Robin R.
Smith, Gayle E.

TEXT_BODY Gayle - They have changed SL - it is OK as is. Rest of my seciton is OK. JP's E/E and Genocide. Still need DROC from Robin. SL with the Mitch McConnell reference is here. David is aware we are updating with these additions. They are cool and standing by. - Erica

-----Original
Message-----
From: Barks-Ruggles, Erica
Sent: Tuesday, February
23, 1999 8:00 PM
To: Leavy, David C.; @PRESS - Public Affairs
Cc: @AFRICA
- African Affairs
Subject: FW: Q&A [UNCLASSIFIED]
Importance: High

David
- just a few corrections on typos. Will get you the fact sheet on deliverables tonight so that POTUS can sound coherent. - Erica

-----Original
Message-----
From: Leavy, David C.
Sent: Tuesday, February 23,
1999 7:36 PM
To: @NSA - Natl Security Advisor
Cc: @EXECSEC - Executive
Secretary; @PRESS - Public Affairs; @AFRICA - African Affairs;
@KOSOVO;
@SPEECH - NSC Speechwriters

Subject: Q&A [UNCLASSIFIED]
Importance: High

Mona/Nina: for rawlings press conference.

TRANSLATED_ATTACHMENT rawlings_1_.doc

PRESIDENTIAL NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS GUIDANCE
FOR PRESS CONFERENCE
WITH PRESIDENT RAWLINGS OF GHANA

FEBRUARY 24, 1999

AFRICA

- * Ghana
- * U.S.-Africa Ministerial
- * Africa Trip: One Year Later
- * Africa Growth and Opportunity Act
- * Sierra Leone
- * Nigeria
- * Eritrea/Ethiopia
- * Congo (DROC)

KOSOVO

MILITARY PAY

LIBYA - PAN AM 103

CHINA SATELLITES

AFRICA

Ghana

Are you satisfied with Ghana's democratic transition?

- * After a long and difficult period as a unitary one-party state, Ghana emerged

as a democratic state with multi-party elections in 1992 and in 1996--
deemed free
and transparent by domestic and international observers.

* Ghana has been a strong force for peace, regional integration and
economic
growth in West Africa. Ghana is a leading member of the Economic
Community of
West African States contributing to regional economic integration and
regional
peace and stability playing a key role in promoting peace and security
in Liberia
and Sierra Leone.

* Ghana is also a world leader in peacekeeping activity. Since the
1960's
Ghanaian forces have participated in 16 separate UN-sponsored
peacekeeping
activities in troubled regions around the globe, including Bosnia,
Cambodia, and
Lebanon. Ghana has also played a valuable peacekeeping role in
Africa.

Q: Are you troubled about Ghana support for Libya?

* Ghana has not demonstrated any support for Libya's terrorist
policies or for
its interference in the internal politics of numerous African countries.
But
Ghana's relations with Libya are complex. Libya provided Ghana with
economic
assistance in the 1980's, and today a number of Libyan-owned
businesses operate
in Ghana.

U.S.-Africa Ministerial: Partnership for the 21st Century

What are the goals of the Ministerial?

* I'm looking forward to participating in this historic opportunity to
meet with
ministers from most of the nations of Africa seeking to further our
partnership
with Africa, and to discuss frankly ways to expand and accelerate our
cooperation
including in the areas of economic development, trade, investment
and governance.

* We have worked closely with the representatives from the nations of

Africa in conceptualizing this ministerial and we believe it will embody the true spirit of our partnership with Africa.

* We hold similar discussions with nations in Asia, Latin America and Europe, and we believe that it is important to have this dialogue now with our African partners.

You say there are Ministers from 46 countries attending? There are 53 countries in Africa, who is not coming?

* We have invited Ministers from 46 of the 48 countries in sub-Saharan Africa. We have not invited Libyan or Sudanese representatives as they are state-sponsors of terrorism, and there are no Somali ministers as Somalia does not have a central government.

* The Washington-based Ambassadors of the northern African countries (Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria and Egypt) will represent their countries.

Africa Trip: One Year Later

It has been a year since you traveled to Africa. What happened to the African Renaissance?

* There has been positive and negative developments over the last year since my trip to Africa. We have seen a peaceful transition of power in Nigeria for example. But there are also negative setbacks including conflicts in Angola, Sierra Leone and DROC. Yet I am still hopeful that the people of Africa can realize the same dreams and aspirations of all peoples.

* At home, we have aggressively implemented my partnership in the last year, including:

* providing this year (FY99) \$245 million in bilateral concessional debt relief

(at a budget cost of \$27 million) for Africa's strongest reformers.

- * providing \$30 million in FY99 in technical assistance for Africans to strengthen their economic capacity.

- * creating an office of Assistant U.S. Trade Representative for Africa and filling that position.

- * creating at the Export-Import Bank of a senior advisor on Africa and an advisory branch on Africa

- * creating two equity investment funds at the Overseas Private Investment Corporation, and beginning the process to create a third, infrastructure fund.

African Growth and Opportunity Act

What has the Administration done to support the passage of the Africa trade bill?

Why hasn't the White House been visible on this?

- * The Administration, since 1997, has been -- and continues to be -- very supportive and very visible on the African Growth and Opportunity Act.

- * The AGOA was the only specific piece of legislation I mentioned in the SOTU.

- * There is a strong and sustained effort by the Administration to work with the bipartisan supporters of this bill in Congress. As I said earlier, we believe this bill is good for Africa and good for America, and I urge Congress to pass this bill quickly.

Sierra Leone

What is the US doing to stop the slaughter in Sierra Leone and support regional peacekeepers and address humanitarian issues?

- * What is happening in Sierra Leone is a great tragedy for the people of that

country and the future of a New Africa where this kind of violence and conflict no longer exists.

* Past five months we have expended \$1.3 million to support ECOMOG's logistic and communication needs and a further \$2 million for medical support for its contingents. Notified Congress we would like to transfer additional \$2.7 million to these efforts - understand Sen. McConnell's staff has put a hold on this - urge him to remove that hold so this urgently needed assistance can go through.

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* Understand elections were held in a calm atmosphere, but that voter turnout was much lower than expected. We view the legislative polling over the

weekend as a further step along the road to civilian rule and to the realization of the democratic hopes and aspirations of the Nigerian people.

Ethiopia/Eritrea

What are you doing about the conflict between Ethiopia and Eritrea?

* The war between Ethiopia and Eritrea is a disaster for the people and the interests of both countries. The OAU, the UN, the EU and the United States have all tried to avert the escalation of this conflict.

* I join the UN Security Council in calling for an end to the fighting and a return to a diplomatic solution. In failing to reach a diplomatic solution, the two governments have taken on the responsibility for the resumption of armed conflict.

Genocide

What are you doing to follow up your speech in Kigali last year pledging to oppose genocide?

* I participated in a summit meeting in Uganda with the heads of state of a number of African countries in which we pledged to explore the creation of an International Coalition Against Genocide in the Great Lakes. We have undertaken consultations with a number of African governments since then, and the Coalition will be formed in the near future. It will provide a mechanism to coordinate actions between states to prevent future atrocities in this war-torn region by countering arms supplies and money flows to those that would perpetrate genocide, and bringing to justice those that have organized and committed genocide.

* We are also launching my Great Lakes Justice Initiative, which is designed to support the rule of law throughout the region, to build transparent

justice
systems, and to buttress peace and reconciliation initiatives.

KOSOVO

Main Points

- * Rambouillet is a significant step forward but we are not there yet. We intend to keep working with the parties. Ambassador Chris Hill will continue his engagement over the next three weeks. I hope the Kosovars will move quickly to accept our draft formally. If they agree, this will step up pressure on the Serbs to sign.
- * In the meantime, all sides must exercise restraint and avoid provocations. NATO SYG Solana retains authority to launch air strikes against FRY if necessary.
- * More broadly, let's remember what has been accomplished over the past few months. In response to the Serb offensive last year, we brokered a deal that provided for a cease-fire, returned 250,000 displaced persons to their homes and internationalized Kosovo with 2,000 civilian verifiers and an intrusive air inspection system.
- * We managed to avert a major humanitarian disaster over the winter, but it became increasingly clear that without a real peace agreement that provides for substantial self-government in Kosovo, fighting would resume on a wide-scale this spring.
- * For the past several months we've been working with all elements of the Kosovar Albanian community to try to forge a single negotiating team and to develop a proposal with substantial self-government for Kosovo.
- * Three weeks ago, the Albanians would not sit together in the same

room, much less with the Serb delegation. As a result of our efforts, they came together for the first time as a single team, met with the Serb delegation and Secretary Albright present and have agreed in principle to sign our proposed peace agreement after two weeks of consultations in Kosovo.

* The Serbs have not agreed to sign, but they have agreed to substantial parts of the "political" agreement on Kosovo self-government.

* So we've taken a significant step forward. Of course we're not there yet and have much work to do in the days ahead.

What happened to American leadership? Weren't you snubbed at the talks?

* American leadership made a difference in ending the bloodshed last October and getting the parties to take this important step forward. What we have is an agreement that for the first time is negotiated between the Serbs and Kosovars which gives the province a significant measure of autonomy.

* We are not there yet. But this is an important step forward that could not have been done without the credibility and force of will of the United States. I am proud of the work our negotiators have done in France and am cognizant of the work that is left.

* But the American people should know that our leadership and strength are key elements in moving this process forward and that in the absence of the US, there can be no final peace agreement for the people of Kosovo

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Does the Administration support S.4?

* The pay and retirement benefits I put in the budget reflects a balanced approach to meet the recruiting and retention goals of the Armed Services, while ensuring that sufficient funds will be available for critical readiness and modernization accounts.

* General Shelton and Secretary Cohen have both testified that the pay and retirement benefits requested in the budget will meet the recruiting and retention goals of the Armed Services. They also testified that the increases requested for other readiness and modernization accounts are critical for supporting our men and women in uniform.

* Spending on personnel accounts in excess of that needed to meet recruiting and retention goals will not improve readiness. Rather, it will reduce funding for maintenance, training, modernization and other accounts the Chairman and Service Chiefs have identified as critical for preventing serious erosion of readiness in the near future and over the long term.

Would you veto S.4?

* We will work with the Congress to put together a pay and benefits package that will meet the recruiting and retention goals of the Armed Services while not unnecessarily diverting funds from critical readiness and modernization accounts. My Administration will continue to take a comprehensive approach as we work with Congress to meet the needs of our men and women in uniform.

LIBYA - PAN AM 103

Do you have any indication at this point that Libya plans to turn over the Pan Am 103 suspects this week?

* There has been a lot of speculation about this. However, justice can be done only when Libya turns over the two suspects for trial in accordance with UNSCR 1192. Libya has had plenty of time to do so.

* We seek a trial of the suspects which will provide justice for the Pan Am 103 victims and their families. Libya should turn them over now. Justice has been too long delayed. Our determination has not wavered since UNSCR 1192 was adopted last August -- or, indeed, since the Lockerbie bombing in December 1988.

* We have received a great deal of help and support in this effort. Secretary General Annan has worked extensively on this, trying to clarify to Libya what its clear responsibilities are. But I want to emphasize that there has been no negotiation. There is no secret deal. Our bottom line has been, and remains, a trial under Scottish law in the Netherlands, with the defendants to be incarcerated in a Scottish prison if convicted.

Has the United States agreed, as has been reported, not to seek to undermine, implicate or embarrass the Libyan government?

* Our aims are clear and unchanged: we seek a trial of the suspects which will provide justice for the Pan Am 103 victims and their families.

* The initiative embodied in UNSCR 1192 is entirely consistent with that objective.

What terms have been agreed for lifting or suspending the UN sanctions on Libya?

* UNSCR 1192 states that sanctions will be suspended when the two suspects are turned over to Dutch authorities for trial.

* Libya will have to meet other requirements, including cooperation in the French investigation of the UTA 772 bombing, in order for sanctions to be lifted permanently.

What will the United States do if Libya does not turn them over?

* Libya has had plenty of time to comply with UNSCR 1192.

* I have made it clear that the United States will seek further measures against Libya if the suspects are not in Dutch hands prior to the Security Council's review of Libya sanctions on Friday.

CHINA SATELLITES

It appears that the Commerce Department has denied an export license for a Hughes satellite that you previously granted a waiver for. Does this represent a reversal of your policy regarding the export of satellites to China?

* I understand that the recommendation to deny the Commerce licenses was based on concerns regarding the behavior of the U.S. company involved and concerns regarding the end-user. This is an example of how the review process we set up five years ago works effectively - looking at export licenses on a case-

by-case
basis and making an appropriate judgement based on our national
interest. I'm
satisfied that has been the case in this instance.
* We have not changed our overall policy. The U.S. intends to
authorize launches
of U.S. satellites from China in the future when it's clear that export
licenses
can both help U.S. industry remain competitive and also protect
national security
interests.

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